WAR RELOCATION OF SUBSISTENCE FARMERS TO AREAS OF FARM LABOR NEEDS IN OHIO

By

A. R. Mangus

Department of Rural Economics and Rural Sociology

Mimeograph Bulletin No. 161

Ohio State University and
Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station
in cooperation with the
United States Department of Agriculture
Farm Security Administration
and
The United States Employment Service

Columbus, Ohio
April, 1943

WAR RELOCATION OF SUBSISTENCE FARMERS TO AREAS OF FARM LABOR NEEDS IN OHIO

by
A. R. Mangus

INTRODUCTION

In the Southern Appalachian Highlands of the United States, a region which includes the mountains and plateaus of Eastern Kentucky, reside thousands of families on small general and subsistence farms. The workers in these families, while not usually counted among the unemployed in large proportions, are nevertheless, in a great many instances ineffectively employed and making little or no contribution to the marketing of agricultural products.

Birth rates are generally very high in the Appalachian areas and during the 1930's the farm population of those areas increased rapidly. Beginning in 1940, however, with the boom in defense industries and with the expansion of the armed forces, a great stream of migrants began leaving the highlands. A recent study of 33 eastern Kentucky counties indicates that between April 1940 and December 1942 those counties had lost more farm people due to migration than they had gained from all sources during the entire 10 years preceeding 1940.[1/] The largest proportion of out-migrants consisted of youths and young adults, particularly boys and men 15-34 years of age. The movement was largely to the armed forces and to defense jobs in non-agricultural industries in the Ohio Valley, Great Lakes, and Eastern cities. In spite of this heavy out-migration from Eastern Kentucky, which reduced the farm population by

---

1/ "Farm Population Changes in Eastern Kentucky 1940-1942" by Howard W. Beers Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington Kentucky, 1943.

19 per cent between April 1940 and December 1942, it was estimated that there remained at the latter date a surplus of 26,000 heads of farm families who were able-bodied and potentially available for work elsewhere. Together with the employable members of their households these unproductively employed workers comprised a potential labor reserve of 50,000 persons.2/

Within a distance of a few hundred miles of the farm labor surplus areas there began to develop in 1942 acute farm labor shortages in Ohio and in commercial farming areas in other states. These farm labor surplus and shortage areas within relatively close proximity to each other created a highly untenable situation on the manpower front. The Farm Security Administration of the United States Department of Agriculture was quick to sense the situation and the need for action with respect to it.

Beginning in November 1942 and continuing to March 1943, the FSA, in cooperation with the United States Employment Service, and the Ohio State University, through its College of Agriculture, carried on a program of controlled movement of people from comparatively unproductive farms in Southeastern Kentucky to aid in meeting farm labor needs in Ohio. The program included recruitment, transportation, some instruction and orientation, and placement of workers in farm labor jobs. The recruiting was carried on by the USES with the assistance of local FSA agents in the recruitment areas. Farm jobs were found for the first group of recruited workers by the FSA but the USES assumed the major responsibility for placement of all later groups. The FSA provided transportation, maintenance and supervision of the workers during the entire period of their relocation, and moved their families to their new homes on Ohio farms after employment and housing arrangements were settled upon by the workers and their employers.

2/ "War Labor Supply and Farm Production on Eastern Kentucky Farms" by John H. Bondurant. Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington Kentucky, 1943.

The sponsors of this relocation program recognized its great potential value to the war effort but they also recognized that major difficulties were certain to be encountered in the relocation process. Wide social, cultural and agricultural differences between the recruitment areas and placement areas were evident. The workers were habituated to a subsistence type of farming on hilly and comparatively unproductive land. Their work habits were generally those of men unaccustomed to full-time farm jobs or to continuous hard work, long hours and little time for leisurely activities. Few had experience in the operation of the more complicated types of farm machinery, and scientific and commercial farming in the areas where they were to be placed stood in sharp contrast to the subsistence and folklore farming practices which they had followed in the hills. Their social organization in the hills was patterned around sentiments of loyalty to family, neighborhood and kinship groups and they seldom developed any consciousness of wide social and economic differences setting them apart from their neighbors as is so often the case in more urbanized areas. The relocation program obviously involved a process of uprooting people from a social environment to which they were thoroughly habituated and of transplanting them to new and vastly different social situations.

In order to aid the workers in making the necessary readjustments, a residence center was set up for them where some preliminary training and orientation could be provided as an integral part of the relocation process. The residence center was established adjacent to the University farms at Ohio State University in Columbus. Here the College of Agriculture cooperated by providing staff and equipment for giving the workers one week of instruction and counseling preparatory to their farm placement. In carrying out this part of the program in its later stages, the College of Agriculture was aided by the War Manpower Commission through the U. S. Office of Education and the Vocational Agriculture Division of the Ohio Board for Vocational

Education. This aid was in the form of provision of instructions for the workers while in the residence center.

During the period that the residence center for relocated farm workers was in operation at Ohio State University a total of 316 men were transported to it by the FSA. These men came in 9 different groups averaging 35 workers each. While at the center the first group of men was housed in a downtown hotel. All later groups were quartered in comfortable house trailers parked underneath the University stadium near the University farm where instruction was given. While in the trailer camp the men were provided with the use of showers, sanitary facilities, and a lounging room in the stadium. All groups were provided their meals by the FSA in one of the dining halls on the University campus.

While in the residence center the men in the process of relocation were instructed mainly in the care and use of modern farm machinery, tractor work being emphasized. Some experience was provided in the care and handling of dairy cows, hogs, and poultry. Farm safety rules were emphasized throughout the week of instruction and was made the subject of a special talk to each group of men on the first day of their stay in the center. Evenings were devoted to visual instruction, background knowledge and entertainment by means of motion pictures. The length of time which the men remained at the residence center was obviously much too short to allow them to gain sufficient training and experience to qualify as skilled farm workers capable of immediately assuming major responsibilities on the kinds of farms on which they were placed. This was not, however, the purpose of the center. Its objective was to provide as much training as possible in the short interval available, but the major emphasis was on vocational and social counseling and guidance to cushion the shock of relocation and to increase the chances of successful placement and adjustment of the workers to their new situations.

Of the 316 men who came to the residence center in Columbus, 214 were eventually placed on Ohio farms as farm laborers, after spending on the average one week in the center.

The success of this original training center was sufficiently great that similar centers were established at Rio Grande College in Southeastern Ohio and at points in several other states where farm labor shortages were present. While this report is concerned with the Columbus, Ohio center only, it should be kept in mind that hundreds of additional workers have been relocated through other centers.

NATURE OF THIS REPORT

Purpose.- It is the purpose of the report:

1. To summarize some of the basic economic, social and cultural differences between areas from which farm workers were recruited in Kentucky and the areas in which they were placed on Ohio farms.
2. To describe some of the characteristics of the relocated workers and their families.
3. To describe some of the known factors associated with the success or failure in getting the workers placed in farm labor jobs in Ohio.
4. To provide an appraisal of the relocation program as carried out through the training center at Ohio State University in the light of its operation up to the time of placement of the men in farm jobs in Ohio.

Significance of the study.- The significance of a study of this kind will be readily appreciated in the light of the wide differences existing in the areas from which the workers were recruited and those in which they were relocated. Powerful motives are necessary for causing families to uproot themselves from an environment with which they have always been familiar and to which they are thoroughly

habituated and to transplant themselves into strange new situations at great distances from their native communities. Many of the relocated workers together with their wives and children had never lived outside their native highland areas, and many others had been away only for short periods of time. What elements of success or failure in their relocation were encountered, is a question that should have much significance not only for the immediate manpower situation but also for the long-time problems of our Appalachian Highland peoples.

Source of information.- When the training program was initiated at Ohio State University it was planned that the training period for the workers in process of relocation would extend over a three-weeks period. During most of this time the trainees were to be under instruction in various agricultural processes and techniques on the University farm. Along with the training and orientation processes, a fairly complete research program with the men was also to be carried out to obtain fairly complete data on the conditions of success or failure in training, placement and occupational adjustment. Experience with the first group of workers showed that a three-weeks period in the training center was too long and the period was shortened to one week. As a result of this shortened period the research program had to very greatly contracted. The data on personal characteristics of the workers and their families were obtained in large part from schedules that were filled at the source as part of the recruitment process. Personal interviews were, however, carried on with 107 of the workers and through these interviews additional information was obtained. Information regarding some of the basic regional differences between the recruitment area and the replacement area have been obtained from the Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940. Further information regarding the recruitment areas has been obtained from a recent bulletin of the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, entitled "War Labor Supply and Farm Production on Eastern Kentucky Farms", by John H. Bondurant.

RECRUITMENT AREAS AND PLACEMENT AREAS

Recruitment areas.- The workers who went through the farm labor training and orientation center on the Ohio State University farms were recruited from the highland areas of Southeastern Kentucky. They came from counties having the lowest level of living of any counties in the larger Appalachian region, of which they form a part. Eighty-four of the men came from nine of the very poor farming counties of Southeastern Kentucky, stretching from McCreary and Whitley counties on the Tennessee border northeastward to Breathitt and Wolfe counties in the east central part of the state. Clay County is geographically central to this section which may, therefore, be identified as the Clay-County Area.3/ Most of the remaining workers came from nine counties centering around Pulaski, directly to the west of Clay County and forming an area which may be designated the Pulaski Area.4/ (See Figure 1)

The situation existing in Eastern Kentucky with respect to manpower reserves has been well-described by Bondurant. Farming in that area is carried on in narrow valleys, on steep slopes, and on tableland. Production is very largely for home use, very little being marketed. Bondurant's study included a sample of 359 families representing those farm families in thirty-three Eastern Kentucky counties. He found that 80 per cent of these families were living on farm units which required less than 120 man days per year to operate. The average for these was only 52 man days per year. He found further that only 8 per cent of these farmers were productively occupied on their farms more than 180 days per year. The least productive farmers,

---

3/ Counties in Clay-County Area: Breathitt, Clay, Knox, Leslie, McCreary, Owsley, Perry, Whitley, Wolfe.

4/ Counties in the Pulaski Area: Adair, Casey, Cumberland, Jackson, Laurel, Pulaski, Rockcastle, Russell, Wayne.

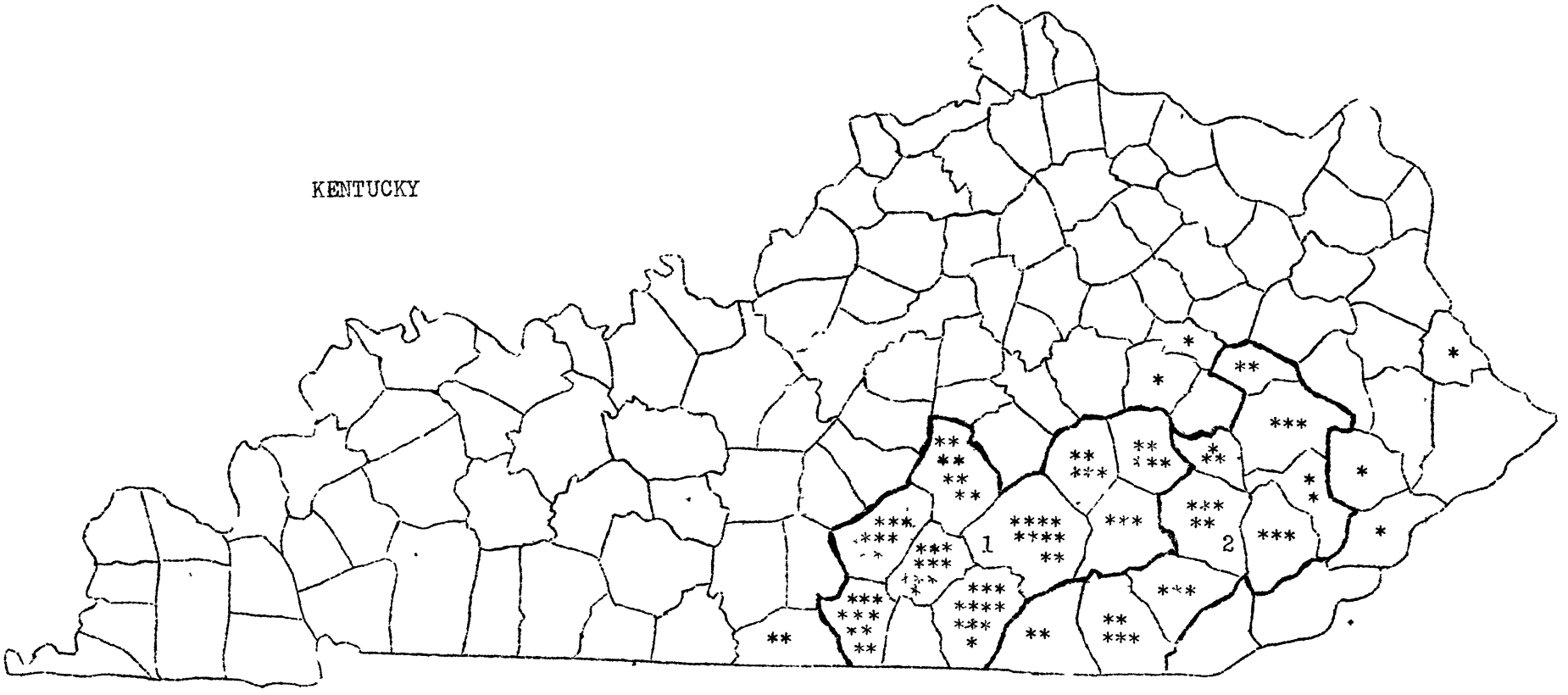

Figure 1. Recruitment Areas for Kentucky Farm Workers Who Entered the Ohio State University Training Center November 1942 - March 1943.

(Each star represents 3 workers recruited)

1. Pulaski Area
2. Clay-County Area

who comprised 80 per cent of the total, were living on farms, the crop land of which averaged only twenty acres, including six acres of bottom land and fourteen acres of hillside. The gross cash income from farm operations averaged only $109 a year and the net income only $41 per year. In addition to their farm income these farm families received, on the average, $474 per year from nonfarm employment by the head of the family and by other members of the household, making a total family income of $525. Coal mining, logging and sawmill work, clay mining, and brick making represent the main types of nonfarm work engaged in by these workers. Taking all of the heads of families represented in his sample, Bondurant estimated that 35 per cent of them were potentially available for work elsewhere. Another 35 per cent were already productively employed either on the better farms of the area or in other industries important to the war effort. The remaining 30 per cent were classified as not available for work elsewhere due to old age, sickness, or other disabilities.

Areas of placement in Ohio.- About three-fourths of the 214 men who were relocated from Kentucky to farms in Ohio were placed in farm labor jobs in and adjacent to the Columbus and to the Cleveland metropolitan areas. Eighty-five men were placed in Franklin County, in which the city of Columbus is located, and in the counties adjoining Franklin.5/ An additional seventy-three men were located in Medina County and in other counties immediately surrounding the Cleveland Area.6/ The other placements were scattered throughout the northern and western parts of the State. (See Figure 2)

5/ Counties in Columbus Area: Franklin, Delaware, Fairfield, Licking, Madison, Pickaway, Union.

6/ Counties in Cleveland Area: Cuyahoga, Lake, Lorain, Medina, Portage.

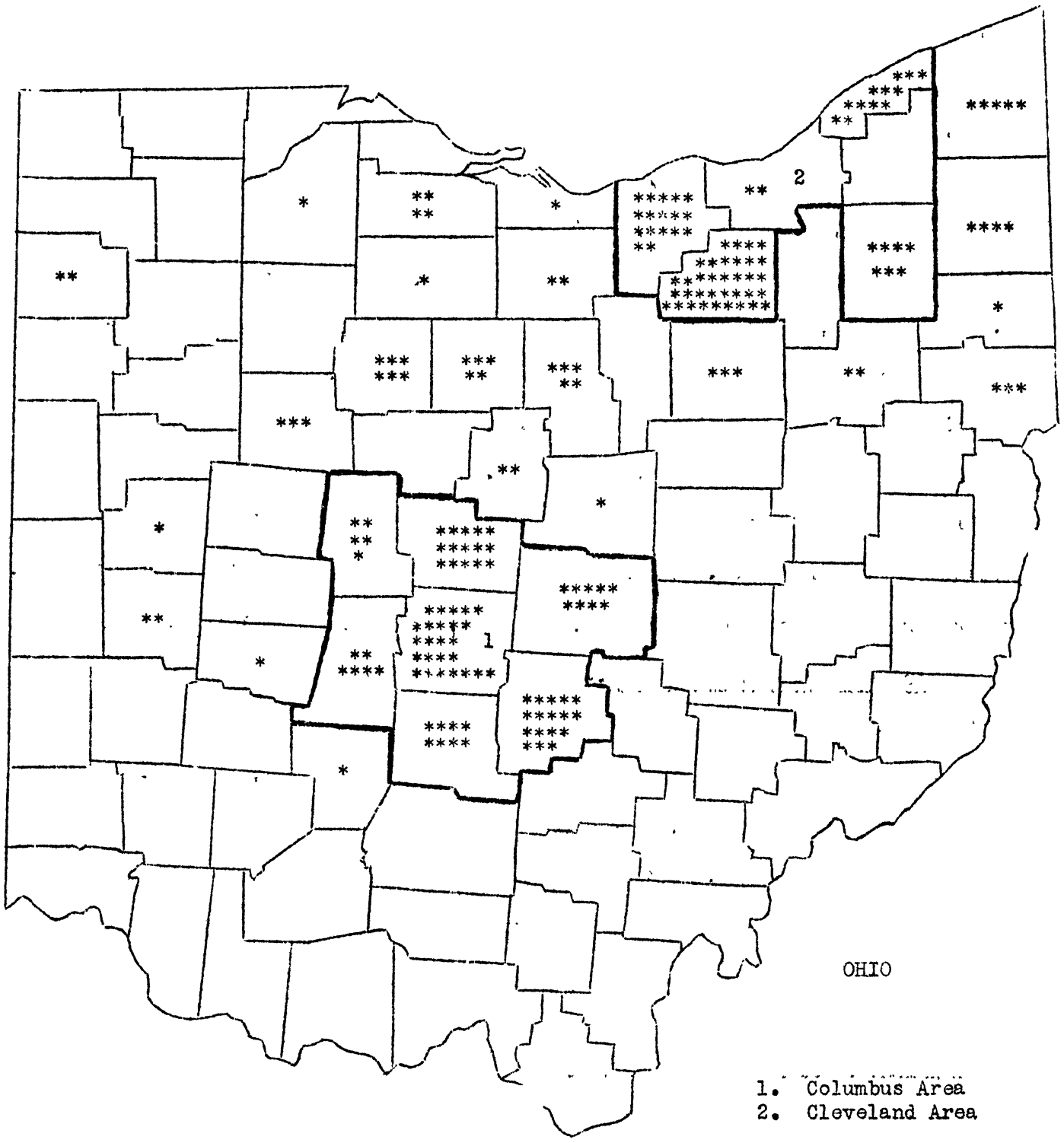

Figure 2. Placement Areas for Kentucky Farm Workers Who Entered the Training Center at Ohio State University November 1942 - March 1943.

(Each star represents 1 worker placed)

Comparison of recruitment and placement areas.- The wide differences in ways of living in the areas from which these workers and their families came and those in which they were relocated may be indicated in many ways. No exhaustive analysis is necessary for a few differences may be described as illustrative of a great many others for which no quantitative measures are available.

1. Land values and farm income. Differences in levels and ways of living on farms is indicated by per capita land values and by farm incomes. Those counties from which the main body of workers were recruited for Ohio jobs had, in 1940, about 50,300 census farms. The land comprising these farms was valued at $41,000,000 or only $820 per farm. By contrast the 1940 census indicated that land in the counties of relocation was valued at $4,543 per farm or nearly six times as much. When land values were expressed in relation to the farm population in the two areas, it was found that in the area of origin the per capita land value amounted to only $153 as compared with $981 in the main placement areas.

The gross farm income per capita of the farm population amounted to only $70 in 1939 in the area of origin of the relocated workers as compared to $318 in the areas where they resettled. In the area of origin 68.6 per cent of the farms produced products valued at less than $400 in 1930, and only 4.5 per cent produced products valued at more than $1000 including products consumed on the farms. On the other hand, 44.2 per cent of the farms in the major relocation areas produced products valued at more than $1000 in 1939 and only 30.7 per cent produced less than $400 worth of products.

In the area of origin of the workers farm production is mainly for home consumption, while in the areas of relocation, production is mainly for the market. Measured in terms of dollar value it was found that 43.2 per cent of all products of the Pulaski Area and 73.7 per cent of those of the Clay Area of Southeastern Kentucky were consumed on the farms. In the Columbus Area only 10.4 per cent and in the Cleveland Area only 12.7 per cent of all products produced on farms were used by the

operator families. The average value of farm buildings was nearly nine times greater in the major relocation areas than in the areas of origin being $3,385 in Ohio as compared to $384 in the highland areas.

2. Demographic and social differences. While the Appalachian Highland Areas are not very productive of farm crops they are very productive of population. The 214 workers placed on Ohio farms had a total of around 900 persons in their households including themselves, an average of 4.3 persons per family. The census enumeration of 1940 showed that in the recruitment areas there were 203 children under 15 years old per 100 farm families as compared to only 94 children of that age per 100 farm families in the main areas of relocation around Columbus and Cleveland.

Differential population fertility in the original and in the relocation areas may be measured in terms of the number of children under 5 per 1000 women of child-bearing ages 20-44 years. On farms in the areas of origin there were, in 1940, more than 900 children per 1000 women. In the areas of relocation the fertility ratio for farm women (465) was only a little more than one-half that found in the areas of origin. In the one area the fertility rates were sufficiently high to double the population each generation, while in the other areas the rate was not much higher than was necessary to maintain a stationary population.

In spite of the much larger families in the highland areas than in the areas in which the relocated people were settled, houses were much smaller and of poorer quality being in most cases small "boxed" or log structures. In the areas of relocation, farm houses typically have 6, 7, or 8 rooms while in the areas of origin they typically have only 3 or 4 rooms and one-third have only 1 or 2 rooms. In Clay County, for example, the median farm house has 3.8 rooms for 5.2 persons or 1.4 persons per room.

The educational level in the main areas of origin of the resettled workers and in the main areas of relocation in Ohio is greatly different. In the areas of

origin nearly 7 per cent of all persons 25 years old and over in 1940 had never completed any year in school, and 34.2 per cent had less than 5 years of schooling. Only 4.3 per cent had completed 4 years of high school. In the main areas where workers were relocated around Columbus and Cleveland, only 7.8 per cent of all farm residents 25 years old and over had attained less than 5 years of schooling, and 22.6 per cent had graduated from high school.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORKERS

The Kentucky Hill people.- It is evident from the foregoing discussion that those people who live in the Appalachian Highland Areas and particularly in the areas from which the workers in this study were recruited, have a very low material level of living as compared to the majority of those in the placement areas. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this seemingly unfavorable comparison is not meant to imply any fault on the part of the highland peoples. They are natural products of the natural and social environments in which they were born and under the influence of which they live. Some ill-informed persons are apt to think of the Kentucky hill folks at best as shiftless and irresponsible and at worst as feudists and moonshiners. The hereditary feud is, however, a thing of the past and feudists and moonshiners were never more than a small remnant of the population of the hills. Experience shows that the capabilities of the hill people cannot be measured by the circumstances under which they are accustomed to living.

Studies of American history indicate that the highlanders represent one of the oldest of all American stocks. Their English and Scotch-Irish ancestors began arriving in America in the early 18th Century. The Scotch-Irish came after the Atlantic coastal areas had already been well occupied. Hence, they were forced to move westward to obtain land for themselves. They became the hardy frontiersmen, pioneers, and men of action. The pioneer qualities which they developed are described

in the interesting chapters of American history devoted to "the winning of the West". The ancestors of these people originally came to America to escape persecution by Church and State in England, and the injustices they suffered abroad is said to have made them among the most determined and effective recruits to the armies that won independence for America in 1776. Their descendants living in the Appalachian Highlands areas today have in some cases retained so much of the traditions inherited from the colonial period and from the old world that they have been referred to as "our contemporary ancestors". It has been pointed out that some of their picturesque folk-tales, ballads, and expressions have been passed down among them from the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Those highlanders who enjoy good health are hard to match in their ability to withstand physical strain and privation. Health defects are very prevalent among them, however, due to poor diets, continued lack of readily available medical, dental, nursing and hospital care at reasonable cost, and the lack of adequately supported public health work in the hills. The incidence of disabling and partially disabling conditions among family heads and among members of their families is generally quite high.

The character of their social life has been indicated by Beers. "The social organization of rural people in Eastern Kentucky is centered in the family and neighborhood. Even now, isolated by topography and poor communication, life in the mountains retains many characteristics of early American rural society. In all of Eastern Kentucky, sentiments of equality among neighbors, loyalty to kinfolk, and habits of self-reliance are an integral part of social life. The mountain farmer's home is usually a small log or boxed house, his church is a small, frame structure up the creek, his school is a one-room building overcrowded with children, and his road may be the creek bed." 7/

The workers.- The workers who came to the training center at Ohio State University were a fairly heterogenous group. This was indicated by a study of their

---

7/ Beers, op. cit. page 5.

ages, the size of their households, their job experiences, their net worth, and the amount of their schooling.

The median age of the 316 men who entered the training center from the Kentucky hills was 30 years. One-fourth were youths less than 25 years old, and one-half were under 30. Only about 1 in 8 was past 45 years old.

Of each 100 workers:

25 were 17-24 years old,

25 were 25-29 years old,

36 were 30-44 years old, and

14 were 45 years old and over.

About 9 per cent of the workers were unmarried men who did not immediately plan to establish households in Ohio. Those who were married had on the average about 5 persons in their families. The size of their households were widely varied, however, as indicated in the following table:

Of each 100 workers:

9 were single men,

30 represented 2 or 3 person households,

30 represented 4 or 5 person households,

20 represented 6 or 7 person households, and

11 represented 8 or more person households.

In terms of the last employment in which they had been engaged before coming to the training center and Ohio State University, about three-fourths of all the workers were farm owners, tenants, sharecroppers or laborers. The other one-fourth had been working last in nonfarm jobs.

Of each 100 workers:

26 had been last employed as farm tenants,

21 had been last employed as farm owners,

20 had been last employed as farm laborers,

7 had been last employed as farm sharecroppers, and

26 had been last employed at nonfarm jobs.

Of the 316 workers who came to the training center at Ohio State University the total assets, liabilities, and net worth was determined by the FSA for 237. For these, the average net worth including land, farm equipment, cash, and household goods and equipment amounted to only $414. This amount represented all of the worker's assets after his debts were subtracted.

Of each 100 workers:

29 had a net worth of less than $200,

20 had a net worth of from $200 - $400,

27 had a net worth of from $400 - $800,

14 had a net worth of from $800 - $1200,

10 had a net worth of $1200 and over.

The average worker who entered the training center had completed between 6 and 7 grades in school. The men differed widely in the amount of formal schooling attained, a few having never been to school at all while others had been to high school.

Of each 100 workers:

16 had completed less than 4 grades in school,

38 had completed 4, 5, or 6 grades,

38 had completed 7 or 8 grades,

8 had been to high school 1 or more years.

PLACEMENT RATES

In spite of the wide regional differences between the areas from which most of the workers included in this study were recruited and the areas of placement, 214 of the 316 who came to the training center were located in farm labor jobs in Ohio. This provides an overall placement rate of 67.7 per cent. Most of those not placed returned to their homes in Kentucky. Of those who returned home, most returned

voluntarily. Others, however, were returned because of physical defects or other factors which made them unsuitable for employment on Ohio farms.

Area of recruitment.- Of the 316 recruits who came to the training center, 92 came from the very unproductive farming area centering around Clay County in the rugged area of steep slopes, narrow valleys, and sharp ridges. The remaining 224 men came from the somewhat more favorable area centering around Pulaski County to the west. A little less than 60 per cent of the men from the Clay County Area were placed in jobs in Ohio but a little more than 70 per cent of those from the Pulaski County Area were located in farm labor jobs in Ohio.

Recruitment area	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
Clay-County Area	92	55	59.8
Pulaski-County Area	224	158	70.5

Occupation.- Those farm labor recruits who owned some land in the recruitment area were among the poorest risks for placement on Ohio farms. Only 64 farm owners were among those workers who came to the center, and of these, only 36 or 56.3 per cent were placed. The placement rates for tenants and sharecroppers were also below average being only 62.0 per cent. On the other hand, about three-fourths of those whose last employment was at farm labor jobs or at nonfarm jobs were placed on Ohio farms.

Last occupation of worker	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
Farm owner	64	36	56.3
Farm tenant or sharecropper	100	62	62.0
Farm laborer	61	46	75.4
Nonfarm work	78	57	73.1

Size of household.- Of all men arriving at the training center, single individuals and married couples without children had the best chance of being placed in farm jobs. A little over 80 per cent of all such cases were located on Ohio farms. The placement rate was about average for 5 and 6 person households, was lower for 3 and 4 person households which included mothers with one or two young children, and lowest for households of 7 persons or more.

Size of workers' household	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
1 or 2 persons	61	49	80.3
3 or 4 persons	109	69	63.3
5 or 6 persons	73	50	68.4
7 or more persons	66	40	60.6

Age of worker.- Age of the potential worker was a highly important factor associated with his placement or nonplacement in Ohio, the chance of placement decreasing with advancing years.

Age of worker	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
Under 30 years	159	114	71.7
30 - 39 years	80	52	65.0
40 years and over	74	44	59.5

School grade attainment.- Those workers having a moderate amount of schooling were placed on Ohio farms in somewhat higher proportions than were others. The placement rate was highest for those with 5-7 grades of schooling, lowest for those with less than 5 years and intermediate for those having completed 8 or more grades in school.

Schooling of worker	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
0 - 4 grades	97	60	61.9
5 - 7 grades	94	68	72.3
8 or more grades	114	76	66.7

The foregoing discussion of placement experience with Kentucky farm laborers was based on information obtained from case records supplied by the FSA for all of the men who entered the training center on the Ohio State University farms. The following additional analysis is based on further information gained from interviews with a total of 107 of the men while in training.

Previous migration from Kentucky.- From the men interviewed it was determined that 59 had not been employed outside of Kentucky while 46 had been so employed. The placement rate was higher for those with previous migration experience, the rate being nearly 8 points higher for the previous migrants than for the nonmigrants.

States worked in by worker	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
Kentucky only	59	39	66.1
Kentucky and other states	46	34	73.9

Health defects.- Of the workers interviewed, 29 were found to have readily determined health defects which were handicaps to greater or lesser degrees. Only 16 or 55.2 per cent of those with recognized health defects were placed in farm jobs. In comparison, 73 per cent of those who rated higher in respect to health were placed.

Health of worker	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
No observable defect	74	54	73.0
One or more defects	29	16	55.2

Intelligence rating.- The interviewers rated each man interviewed with respect to his intelligence level. They rated 88 as of average or above average intelligence and 18 below average. Only half of those rated below average were finally placed in jobs as compared to 72.7 per cent of those rated higher.

Intelligence rating of worker	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
Average or above	88	64	72.7
Below average	18	9	50.0

Outlook rating.- The interviewers who contacted the sample of potential farm workers rated each one according to his judgment as to the outlook for successful placement of the worker. It later turned out that 80 per cent of those rated as above average in placement potentiality were eventually placed in farm jobs. The same was true of only one-half of those rated as below average indicating that the poor placement risks were fairly readily identified.

Outlook rating of worker	No. workers	Workers placed	
		Number	Percent
Average or above	46	37	80.4
Below average	32	16	50.0

APPRAISAL OF THE PROGRAM

The relocation program with which this report has been concerned, represents a unique experiment in controlled migration of farm workers and their families. It involved the resettlement of workers from areas where the productive work which they were accomplishing was very limited to areas where they could be fully employed in farm work and where they could make real contributions to the war effort through the production of food greatly in excess of that which they and their dependents consumed.

Indications are that the relative unproductive agricultural areas of Eastern Kentucky have been in a process of depopulation during the war boom period since 1940. Most able-bodied young men outside the dependency deferred classes have been inducted

into the armed forces. Additional thousands of workers have been leaving the highland areas voluntarily for employment elsewhere. Studies made by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station at the end of 1942 indicated that the out-movement of civilians from the subsistence and part-time farming areas was largely a movement of individuals rather than family groups. Family ties were being broken as the heads of families moved to take war jobs. Moreover, while the out-migrants were accustomed to farm work and unskilled in factory jobs they were for the most part moving into war industries to the north. It was estimated that between April 1940 and December 1942 the 33 counties comprising the Eastern Kentucky Highlands lost 53,000 males and 32,000 females out of their farm population of less than a half million in 1940. In spite of that loss there remained an estimated 26,000 able-bodied heads of farm families classified as potentially available for work elsewhere because they were not productively employed at home. The relocation program here described introduced two new elements into what had been an uncontrolled out-migration. It guided workers into farm jobs where they were greatly needed for food production and it prevented the break in family ties by financially enabling the workers to move their families to the farms on which they found jobs. In addition it provided a minimum amount of orientation and training for the relocated workers.

The value of a relocation program such as this must be judged in the light of several considerations including its immediate effects and possible long-time effects on the national war effort, on the welfare of the relocated workers and their families, on the communities in which they were relocated, and on the areas from which they were removed.

1. The main purpose of the relocation program was to help in meeting an actual wartime need for farm laborers on commercial farms. Appraised on this basis the program was successful to a considerable degree. It demonstrated conclusively that subsistence farmers living on unproductive land are by no means indifferent to the war and its requirements, that they are strongly motivated to aid in the war effort

and to improve the future possibilities for their children. So strongly are they motivated that many are willing to uproot themselves and their families, to give up their independence and break kinship and neighborhood ties to serve as farm wage laborers in new locations. Judged in the light of the total agricultural manpower needs in the commercial farming areas, the number of workers actually relocated through the Columbus center seems small. This was only one of a number of such centers, however, and the two Ohio centers have placed nearly 500 farm labor families on farms in this State, an appreciable agricultural labor force. Through similar centers in other states with farm labor shortages an additional 2000 families had been relocated from unproductive areas up to April 1943. In their new jobs the productiveness of these relocated workers has probably been multiplied several times thus increasing the production of food.

2. Judged on the basis of its immediate and long-time effect on the welfare of the relocated families, the program is more difficult to appraise. That their productive efficiency will be greatly increased there can be no doubt; that their economic status will be improved, at least temporarily, seems certain, but whether their happiness and satisfaction in living will be similarly enhanced may be open to question. It is certain that the process of readjustment will not always be easy. In the hills they were accustomed to living in closely knit neighborhoods with many kinship ties to their places of residence. They have been unaccustomed to wide extremes in poverty and wealth and to attitudes of inequality among families and to regular, continuous work schedules. Interviewers learned that they are quick to sense it when they are cast in the role of inferiors and looked down upon by their new employers and new neighbors. They may refer to themselves jokingly as "hill billies", "ridge-runners", and "briar jumpers" but for others to apply these terms in seriousness is to them the worst kind of aspersion which tends to close the door to further contacts.

There are many other differences to which the hill-folk will have to make adjustments in their new homes. They are, for example, unaccustomed to making any appreciable cash outlays for food. They have had little or no previous experience with farm machinery, and many have not before been under the necessity of being constantly confined to long hours of work.

Faced with these readjustments it remains to be seen how many leave their new jobs to return to their native areas when they have accumulated sufficient cash reserves to move, how many remain in their farm jobs for the duration of the war, how many continue permanently in farm work in Ohio, and how many leave their farm jobs to take temporarily high paying jobs in nonfarm industries. It is hoped that a later report will be issued describing the degrees of success being experienced by these relocated peoples in adjusting to their new occupational and social situation.

3. The extent to which the communities in the areas in which the relocated workers are placed welcome them will determine to a large degree how successful they will be in their readjustment. Observations have indicated a need for churches and other organized groups in the placement areas to serve in preventing the isolation of the relocated peoples from participation in community life.

4. The present exodus from the subsistence farming areas raises many questions as to the present and future situations in those areas. Present migration is tending to drain the areas of the able-bodied workers leaving a population heavily weighted with dependents, aged persons, children, and with physically and mentally defective persons. Will the present migrants eventually become estranged from their dependent relatives they have left behind? Will rural poverty be increased in the hill areas due to the loss of wage earners and bread-winners to other areas? Will there be a mass movement back to the poor-land areas after the war? It would appear that agencies which now are encouraging out-migration to war need areas cannot afford to ignore, and fail to plan for future possibilities.

CONCLUSION

War demands for unprecedented food production goals brought American agriculture face to face with a curious paradox, namely, acute farm labor shortages in some areas and great surpluses of manpower in other areas where there were thousands upon thousands of low-income, under-employed farm families. Two lines of action suggested themselves. Some considered the solution of the paradox to be simply that of shifting the under-employed farmers to farms where their full labor capacity was needed. To others, the more promising solution seemed to be that of greatly expanding the productive capacity of the subsistence farmers so that they might fully utilize their labor in producing food where they are.

Neither of these solutions are easy or simple, and they are not mutually exclusive but complementary. Evidence gained in the present study is convincing that there are many factors adverse to any great expansion in food production in the poor-land areas. Such, for example, are lack of good land, capital and credit, lack of education and vocational training on the part of subsistence farmers, uncertain farm tenure, and poor health among the disadvantaged farm groups. The difficulties of relocating the subsistence farm families are financial, social, cultural and occupational. If they are to move as family groups rather than as individuals one by one, the subsistence farmers must be provided with financial assistance in moving and such a program can be carried out successfully only with the best possible program of recruitment, transportation, training and placement services. The families require the sympathetic advice and guidance of all stages of the relocation process, and the need for counselling and guidance will continue through a period of readjustment. Of particular importance will be a sympathetic, cooperative and understanding attitude on the part of those for whom they work.